

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 GENEVA 04765

EXDIS

USSALT TWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR WARNKE'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 30, 1978
(SALT TWO-1670)

1. THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
WARNKE AT SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 30, 1978:

- STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR WARNKE
- MARCH 30, 1978

MR. MINISTER:

- I

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SIDES WITH RESPECT TO
PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II HAVE LONG BEEN THE SUBJECT OF
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CONSIDERATION BY THE DELEGATIONS. TODAY I WILL PROPOSE A
COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION TO THE ISSUES BEFORE US IN PARA-
GRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II. IN MAKING THIS PROPOSAL THE
UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN FULL CONSIDERATION TO THE
PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET UNION.

- II

A FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE BEFORE THE DELEGATION IS THAT OF WHICH AIRPLANES WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE LIMITATIONS OF ARTICLE III AS HEAVY BOMBERS AND WHICH OF THOSE AIRPLANES WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE LIMITATIONS OF ARTICLE V AS AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS. IT IS THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES THAT AN AIRPLANE TYPE RULE, BASED ON FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES WHICH ARE VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS SUPPLEMENTED AS NECESSARY BY COOPERATIVE MEASURES, WOULD PROVIDE A SOLUTION IN THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF THE SIDES.

"FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES," IN THE CASE OF DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN AIRPLANES OF A HEAVY BOMBER TYPE AND THOSE WHICH ARE NOT OF A HEAVY BOMBER TYPE, REFER TO DIFFERENCES IN THE OBSERVABLE FEATURES OF AIRPLANES WHICH INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT AN AIRPLANE HAS THE CAPABILITY TO PERFORM THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER AS DEFINED IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II, REGARDLESS OF WHAT OTHER MISSIONS THE AIRPLANE MIGHT ALSO HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO PERFORM.

IN PROVIDING FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION TO THE ISSUES BEFORE THE DELEGATIONS IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II WHICH ALLOWS THE SIDES TO EXERCISE THOSE OPTIONS WHICH MAY
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BE ESSENTIAL TO THEIR NATIONAL SECURITY AND AT THE SAME TIME ASSURES COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY, THERE MAY BE INSTANCES WHERE COOPERATIVE MEASURES TO SUPPLEMENT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS WOULD BE REQUIRED.

UNDER THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES, TUPOLEV (BEAR) RECONNAISSANCE AIRPLANES WOULD BE CONSIDERED A TYPE DIFFERENT FROM TUPOLEV (BEAR) HEAVY BOMBERS AND WOULD NOT BE SUBJECT TO INCLUSION IN THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC ARMS. IN THIS CASE, THE ABSENCE OF BOMB BAY DOORS ON TUPOLEV (BEAR) RECONNAISSANCE AIRPLANES INDICATES THAT THESE AIRPLANES ARE OF A TYPE WHICH CANNOT PERFORM THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER. THIS IS AN EXAMPLE OF A FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCE.

THE UNITED STATES TAKES NOTE OF THE STATED INTENT OF THE SOVIET UNION TO CONVERT MYASISHCHEV (BISON) HEAVY BOMBERS INTO TANKER AIRPLANES. MYASISHCHEV (BISON) HEAVY BOMBERS CURRENTLY EQUIPPED AS TANKER AIRPLANES DO NOT HAVE FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES WHICH INDICATE THAT THEY CANNOT PERFORM THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER. INDEED THEY HAVE NO OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES WHATSOEVER.

THEREFORE, SUCH AIRPLANES MUST COUNT IN THE AGGREGATE UNTIL THEY ARE DISMANTLED OR DESTROYED OR OTHERWISE CEASE TO BE SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS OF THE TREATY, UNDER PROCEDURES TO BE AGREED UPON IN THE STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

THE AIM OF THE APPROACH PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES IS TO ASSURE THAT WE WILL NOT BE FACED IN THE FUTURE WITH AMBIGUITIES SUCH AS THOSE RESULTING FROM THE CONFIGURATION OF SOVIET HEAVY BOMBER TYPE AIRPLANES FOR MISSIONS OTHER THAN THAT OF A HEAVY BOMBER. FOR THIS REASON, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT A PRINCIPLE OF FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES MUST BE ESTABLISHED.

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THE PRINCIPLE OF FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES ALSO APPLIES TO THE CASE OF DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN AIRPLANES OF A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS AND THOSE OF A TYPE NOT SO EQUIPPED. THIS REFERS TO DIFFERENCES IN THE OBSERVABLE FEATURES OF AIRPLANES WHICH INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT AN AIRPLANE HAS THE CAPABILITY TO PERFORM THE MISSION OF AN AIRPLANE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, REGARDLESS OF WHAT OTHER MISSIONS THAT AIRPLANE MIGHT ALSO HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO PERFORM.

UNDER THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES A SIDE WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO BUILD NEW TYPES OF AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600

KILOMETERS. A SIDE WILL ALSO HAVE THE RIGHT TO CONVERT AIRPLANES, INCLUDING TRANSPORT TYPE AIRPLANES, WHICH ARE OF A TYPE NOT EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS AND NOT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLES III AND V OF THE TREATY, INTO AIRPLANES OF A TYPE SO EQUIPPED. SUCH CONVERSION WOULD BE ALLOWED SO LONG AS AIRPLANES OF A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR

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CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS AND AIRPLANES OF A TYPE NOT SO EQUIPPED HAVE FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS SUPPLEMENTED AS NECESSARY BY COOPERATIVE MEASURES.

- III

THE UNITED STATES HAS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THE CASE OF TUPOLEV (BEAR) HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED AS ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRPLANES. THERE ARE NO FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TUPOLEV (BEAR) HEAVY BOMBERS AND THOSE EQUIPPED AS ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRPLANES WHICH INDICATE THAT THE ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AIRPLANES CANNOT PERFORM THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER. HOWEVER, UNDER THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES FOR PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II, IN THIS SPECIAL CASE, AND IN THE INTERESTS OF BRINGING THE SIDES CLOSER TO AGREEMENT, THE UNITED STATES WOULD AGREE TO MAKE AN EXCEPTION. ACCORDINGLY, FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS TREATY TUPOLEV (BEAR) AIRPLANES IN THE CURRENT CONFIGURATION FOR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE WILL NOT COUNT AS HEAVY BOMBERS, EVEN THOUGH THERE ARE NOT FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES INDICATING THAT SUCH AIRPLANES CANNOT CARRY OUT THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER.

- IV

THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO EXCLUDE TUPOLEV (BEAR) AIRPLANES IN THE CURRENT CONFIGURATION FOR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE AND FOR RECONNAISSANCE FROM THE LIMITATIONS OF ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY IS CONTINGENT UPON SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF THOSE ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSAL

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OF THE UNITED STATES SET FORTH ABOVE AS WELL AS THOSE WHICH FOLLOW, ALL OF WHICH ARE INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE OVER-

ALL PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

- V

WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION OF CURRENT HEAVY BOMBERS WHICH MAY IN THE FUTURE BE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS AND THEREBY BECOME SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS OF ARTICL V OF THE TREATY, B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR SUCH CRUISE MISSILES WILL BE DISTINGUISHABLE FROM B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS NOT SO EQUIPPED. IT IS THE FIRM POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES THAT B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE V OF THE TREATY WILL ONLY BE THOSE B-52 HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILS CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS.

- VI

TO IMPLEMENT THE COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTIN I HAVE OUTLINED, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING REVISION TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II, ITS AGREED STATEMENTS AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING:

- PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II

3. HEAVY BOMBERS CONSIST OF ALL AIRPLANES OF THE FOLLOWING TYPES:

(A) CURRENTLY, FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, B-52 AND B-1 AIRPLANES, AND FOR THE UNION OF

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SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, TUPOLEV (BEAR) AND
MYASISHCHEV (BISON) AND TUPOLEV VARIABLE-
GEOMETRY WING (BACKFIRE) AIRPLANES;

(B) IN THE FUTURE, TYPES OF AIRPLANES WHICH CAN
CARRY OUT THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER IN A
MANNER SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR TO THAT OF AIRPLANES
LISTED ABOVE, WHICH INCLUSION SHALL BE THE
SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES ON A
CASE-BY-CASE BASIS; AND

(C) ADDITIONALLY

TO BE COUNTED AMONG HEAVY BOMBERS
IN THE FUTURE, TYPES OF AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR
CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF
600 KILOMETERS.

- (FIRST) AGREED STATEMENT

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT THE CRITERIA THEY SHALL USE
TO MAKE CASE-BY-CASE DETERMINATIONS OF WHICH TYPES OF
AIRPLANES IN THE FUTURE CAN CARRY OUT THE MISSION OF A
HEAVY BOMBER IN A MANNER SIMILAR OR SUPERIOR TO THAT OF
CURRENT HEAVY BOMBERS, AS PROVIDED FOR IN SUBPARAGRAPH
3 (B) OF ARTICLE II, SHALL BE AGREED UPON IN THE STANDING
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CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION.

- (SECOND) AGREED STATEMENT

THE PARTIES, HAVING AGREED THAT EVERY AIRPLANE OF A
TYPE INCLUDED IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II IS TO BE CON-
SIDERED A HEAVY BOMBER, FURTHER AGREE THAT: 1) AIRPLANES
WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD BE OF A HEAVY BOMBER TYPE WILL NOT
BE CONSIDERED TO BE AIRPLANES OF A HEAVY BOMBER TYPE IF
THEY HAVE FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES
WHICH INDICATE THAT THEY CANNOT PERFORM THE MISSION OF A
HEAVY BOMBER; AND 2) AIRPLANES WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD BE OF
A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN
EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED TO BE AIR-
PLANES OF A TYPE EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF
A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS IF THEY HAVE
FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES WHICH INDICATE
THAT THEY CANNOT PERFORM THE MISSION OF AIRPLANES EQUIPPED
FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600
KILOMETERS. THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH DIFFERENCES SHALL BE
VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS SUPPLEMENTED AS
NECESSARY BY COOPERATIVE MEASURES.

- (THIRD) AGREED STATEMENT

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT TUPOLEV (BEAR) AIRPLANES
IN THE CURRENT CONFIGURATION FOR ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE,
AND B-52 AIRPLANES NOT EQUIPPED FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE
OF A RANGE IN EXCESS 00F 600 KKLOMETERS, ARE CONSIDERED TO
BE OF TYPES DIFFERENT FROM TUPOLEV (BEAR) HEAVY BOMBERS
AND B-52 AIRPLANES EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES.

- COMMON UNDERSTANDING

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THE SIDES AGREE THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECTS
THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT "FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED
OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES" ARE DIFFERENCES IN THE OBSERVABLE
FEATURES OF AIRPLANES WHICH INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT THEY
CAN PERFORM THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER OR WHETHER OR
NOT THEY CAN PERFORM THE MISSION OF AN AIRPLANE EQUIPPED
FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600
KILOMETERS.

TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR PROCEDURES FOR THE
CONVERSION OF THOSE AIRPLANES OF A TYPE WHICH ARE HEAVY
BOMBERS TO AIRPLANES OF A TYPE WHICH ARE NOT HEAVY BOMBERS,
THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING REVISED AGREED
STATEMENT AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO PARAGRAPH 6 OF
ARTICLE VI AND SUBPARAGRAPH 2 (E) OF ARTICLE XVII:

- AGREED STATEMENT

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT THE PROCEDURES FOR REMOVAL OF
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS FROM THE AGGREGATE NUMBERS
PROVIDED FOR IN THE TREATY, WHICH ARE REFERRED TO IN
PARAGRAPH 6 OF ARTICLE VI AND IN SUBPARAGRAPH 2 (E) OF
ARTICLE XVII, AND WHICH ARE TO BE AGREED UPON IN THE
STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION, INCLUDE PROCEDURES FOR
REMOVAL FROM THE AGGREGATE NUMBERS, PROVIDED FOR IN
ARTICLE V, OF ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE CONVERTED
FROM LAUNCHERS OF A TYPE SUBJECT TO THAT LIMITATION INTO
LAUNCHERS OF A TYPE NOT SUBJECT TO THAT LIMITATION. ALSO
INCLUDED ARE PROCEDURES FOR REMOVAL FROM THE AGGREGATE
NUMBERS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLES III AND V OF AIRPLANES

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WHICH ARE CONVERTED FROM AIRPLANES OF A TYPE SUBJECT TO
EITHER OR BOTH OF THOSE LIMITATIONS INTO AIRPLANES OF A
TYPE NOT SO SUBJECT.

- COMMON UNDERSTANDING

THE SIDES AGREE THAT THE NEGOTIATING RECORD REFLECTS
THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT PROCEDURES FOR REMOVAL FROM
THE AGGREGATE NUMBERS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLES III AND V
OF AIRPLANES WHICH ARE CONVERTED FROM AIRPLANES OF A TYPE
SUBJECT TO EITHER OR BOTH OF THOSE LIMITATIONS INTO
AIRPLANES OF A TYPE NOT SO SUBJECT SHALL BE BASED UPON
THE EXISTENCE OF FUNCTIONALLY-RELATED OBSERVABLE DIF-
FERENCES WHICH INDICATE, RESPECTIVELY, WHETHER OR NOT THEY
CAN PERFORM THE MISSION OF A HEAVY BOMBER OR WHETHER OR
NOT THEY CAN PERFORM THE MISSION OF AN AIRPLANE EQUIPPED
FOR CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600
KILOMETERS.

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MR. MINISTER, THE PROPOSAL I HAVE JUST EXPLAINED IN
ITS TOTALITY IS A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION TO THE ISSUES
BEFORE THE DELEGATIONS IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II OF
THE TREATY. THOSE ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSAL OF THE UNITED
STATES WHICH RESPOND TO THE CONCERNS WHICH HAVE BEEN
EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE COURSE OF OUR

NEGOTIATIONS ARE MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF SOVIET ACCEPTANCE
OF THE OVERALL PROPOSAL. I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR RESPONSE.
WARNKE

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